

No. 8

VOL. X

WINTER 1954-55

THE EASTERN CHURCHES QUARTERLY

Editor: DOM BERNARD WINFELD

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IN COMMEMORATION OF THE DOGMA OF THE IMMACULATE CONCEPTION

The Editor

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Single Copies 3/-

E.C.Q.

Library Communications, Exchanges and Books for Reviews should be addressed to the Editor, E.C.Q., 91 Augustin's Abbey, Basingstoke.

Agents: London: H. J. Caldwell, Ltd, 17 Red Lion Square, W.C.1.

U.S.A.: The Secretary, C.N.E.W.A., 480 Lexington Avenue, New York 17.

Belgium: Antwerp, Vita et Pax Library, 13-16 Prince Albert Avenue.

Holland: Utrecht, J. R. van Rossum, Achter Het Stadhuis.

Egypt: Cairo, El Le Lien, 163 Avenue Reine Marie.

Finland: Helsinki, Allmans Press Bureau, N. Esplanad 13.

S. Africa: Bellville, Cape province South Africa, M. Sellman, Leurdus 7th Avenue, Boston Estate.

India:

Yearly subscription: 2s shillings; 1 dollar; 80 Belgian frs, 6 guilders, etc.

Back numbers and single numbers, three shillings each.

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(Continuation of *Eastern Churches Number of 'Pax'*,
founded 1931)

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IN COMMEMORATION OF THE DOGMA OF THE IMMACULATE CONCEPTION

ON 8th December 1854, Pope Pius IX defined the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception as: 'the doctrine which declares that the most Blessed Virgin Mary in the first instant of her conception, by a singular grace and privilege of Almighty God, in view of the merits of Jesus Christ, the Saviour of the human race, was preserved exempt from all stain of original sin is a doctrine revealed by God, and therefore must be believed firmly and constantly by the faithful'.

The word conception is used as referring to the child and not to the parent. It denotes the infusion of the soul by God into the embryo (or foetus) and is called *Passive*.

One of the difficulties in the way of people accepting the doctrine (viz. the Orthodox) is the thought that by being conceived immaculate, Mary is in some way cut off from the human race, that needed redemption. This difficulty is met by the phrase; 'in view of the merits of Jesus Christ, the Saviour of the human race'.

It was Duns Scotus who had pointed out that redemption can be viewed as twofold, viz., preservative and reparative. The first means that a person is preserved or prevented from falling into sin by the merits of another. This was Mary's case, she was preserved by the merits of Jesus Christ, whereas all other people were liberated from sin by reparative redemption. Hence Mary being conceived in grace was a singular privilege of God.

We will quote from Cardinal Newman :—

I do not see how anyone who holds the Catholic doctrine of the supernatural endowments of our first parents, has fair reason for doubting our doctrine of the Blessed Virgin. It has no reference whatever to her parents, but simply to her own person ; it does but affirm that, together with the nature which she inherited from her parents, that is her own nature she had a superadded fullness of grace, and that from the first moment of her existence. Suppose Eve had stood the trial, and not lost her first grace ; and suppose she had eventually had children ; those children from the first moment of their existence would, through divine bounty, have received the same privilege that she had ever had ; that is, as she was taken from Adam's side, in a garment, so to say, of grace, so they in turn would have received what may be called an immaculate conception. They would have then been conceived in grace, as in fact they are conceived in sin. What is there difficult in this doctrine ? What is there unnatural ? Mary may be called, as it were, a daughter of Eve unfallen.

You believe with us that St John the Baptist had grace given him three months before his birth, at the time that the Blessed Virgin visited his mother. He accordingly was not immaculately conceived, because he was alive before grace came to him ; but our Lady's case only differs from his in this respect, that to her the grace of God came, not three months merely before her birth, but from the first moment of her being, as it had been given to Eve.¹

It was to honour this doctrine that the Marian Year of 1954 was celebrated and this issue of the *E.C.Q.* will inquire into the attitude of the Orthodox Church to this doctrine.

The Rev. Dr George Florovsky has kindly undertaken to write an article concerning this subject ; nevertheless, some remarks are called for here.

First we are not dealing with the patristic period but from the time of Photius.

The majority of the Orthodox did not admit the dogma as defined by Pope Pius IX.

Their theologians for the most part would agree that Mary was purified from original sin before the birth of our Lord, that is, purified in her mother's womb like St John the Baptist, but this is not the Immaculate Conception. On the other hand, although there are some who explicitly denied the

¹ *Difficulties of Anglicans*, Vol. II. Pp. 46 (Longmans, 1900).

doctrine, e.g. the Patriarch Anthimos VII in his synodal letter of reply to Leo XIII's encyclical in 1895, there are others like Gregory Palamas, the great doctor of hesychasm, who categorically state that Mary was never at any moment sullied by the stain of original sin. He does not use the formula 'immaculate conception' because he holds that God progressively purified all Mary's ancestors, one after the other and each to a greater degree than the predecessor, so that at the end, Mary was able to grow, from a completely purified root, like a spotless stem 'on the limits between the created and uncreated'. We are publishing below part of Palamas's treatise.

But apart from this exceptional explanation there were and are those who hold the doctrine as we hold it—the Athenian professor, Christopher Damalas, in 1855 declared: 'We have always held and taught this doctrine. This point is too sacred to give rise to quarrels and it has no need of a deputation from Rome.'

As regards the Russian Orthodox theological opinion, we can say that from the Middle Ages to the seventeenth century the Russian Church, as a whole, accepted the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception. The Academy of Kiev and the Confraternity of the Immaculate Conception, established in 1651 at Polotsk, were the strongholds of this teaching. It was not until 1881 that any important writing in Russian literature against the dogma appeared.

For the above remarks we are indebted to an Orthodox priest.

THE EDITOR.

HOMILY PREACHED ON THE OCCASION OF THE FEAST OF THE ENTRY OF OUR MOST PURE QUEEN, THE MOTHER OF GOD, INTO THE HOLY OF HOLIES

By

OUR HOLY FATHER GREGORY
Archbishop of Thessalonica.

NOTE.—This Homily on the Presentation was preached by Gregory Palamas at Thessalonica between 1347 and 1359, the end of the varied life of the Hesychast Doctor. The text of it we found in the extremely rare edition of Palamas's homilies produced by S. Oikonomos (Athens, 1861), where it bears the number 52 (pp. 120-30). It may be compared with the long treatise on the Presentation composed by the young Palamas, while he was still at Athos (Oikonomos, No. 53, pp. 131-80). On the subject of this long treatise, the Patriarch Philotheos indicates that it was directed against those who denied the mystery of the Presentation (P.G., CLI, 581 C.). It is very probable that our treatise also has in mind these unbelievers, among whom we find the last of Palamas's opponents, the humanist savant Nicephoros Gregoras, who was excommunicated under this head (Miklosich and Müller, *Acta et Diplomata*, P.G., CLII, col. 1410 D.). In paragraph 9 of the homily, in fact, Palamas does not fail to insist that the extra-biblical character of the feast cannot be considered as an argument by those who deny it.

1. If one recognizes the tree by its fruit and if the good tree bears good fruit, how shall not the Mother of Goodness itself, she who bore eternal Beauty, incomparably surpass in Virtue all that is good on earth and below the earth? Omnipotence, which has created all things in beauty, the Image, coeternal and inseparable from Goodness, the eternal Word, superessential and full of the goodness of the heavenly Father, in his unspeakable love for men and mercy for us, desiring to re-clothe his Image, in order to re-establish nature,

sunk to the depth of hell, to renew what was grown old, to raise it above the heavens by uniting it, in his own hypostasis, to the glory of his royalty and his divinity, had need to unite himself to the flesh, to a flesh which would be common to us all, in order to make us a new creation beginning with ourselves. He also had need to be born in a womb, to be brought forth as we are, to be fed after his birth, to be brought up; for in order to save us, he took our lot upon himself completely. He found a handmaiden entirely in accord with this, ready to bring forth an unsullied nature, the Ever Virgin, whom we sing and of whom we keep to-day the festival of her marvellous entry into the holy of holies. God in fact chose her before all ages in view of the salvation and re-establishment of our race, picked her out among all, not only among the multitude, but among those who had been chosen from the beginning, had been admirable and renowned for their piety, their wisdom, their habits, their words, their actions, serving the common good and pleasing to God.

For, at the beginning, the cunning serpent, the prince of evil, raised himself against us and threw us down to the depth of hell. And many are the instruments that have served him to fight against us and enslave our nature; envy, jealousy, hate, injustice, treachery, and artifice, and above all this power of death, which is specially his, which he himself brought about for himself in first separating himself from true Life. So in the beginning he tricked Adam, seeing him living in a place of delights without alloy, resplendent with a divine glory and raising himself up from the earth towards the heavens. Whence he himself had been thrown down by a just judgement.

Full of jealousy, he developed a terrible fury against him, and wanted to put him to death. For jealousy produces not only hate, but also murder; it is that that the traitorous serpent, the true enemy of man, aimed against us, setting his snares. For, passionately he desired to set up his tyranny at the highest point of injustice for the ruin of that which God created in the image and likeness of God. But as he dared not to encounter him face to face, he had recourse to stratagem and to cowardice and, presenting himself in the form of a visible serpent, as a friend and friendly counsellor, the terrible and insidious enemy, alas, succeeded, by advice aimed against God, in secretly communicating to man, like some venom, his own deathly power.

[Sections 2 and 3 are concerned only with the Fall of Adam.—EDITOR.]

4. But the rigour of justice demanded that this nature, since it was enslaved and conquered with its full consent, should also with its full consent be re-established in the victory and delivered from bondage. That is why God wished to receive our nature from us, uniting it marvellously to himself in his hypostasis.

But it was impossible to unite sublime and unimaginable purity to a soiled nature; for there is one thing impossible to God: to unite himself to what is impure without preparing the union by purification. That is why there was absolute need of a Virgin, a complete stranger to stain and impurity to bear and engender the Friend and Dispenser of purity. She was then planned before, created and made known, and the mystery which concerned her was accomplished by the conjunction of many wonderful things. That is why we celebrate to-day the events which in other times led up to this end, we who have realized after this end already accomplished, how great were these events.

'This One who is of God, who is with God and who is God' (John I, i-ii), he who is the Word and the Son of God, without beginning and eternal as the Father, becomes the Son of Man, born of the Ever Virgin. 'Jesus Christ is the same yesterday, to-day, and for ever' (Heb. xiii, 8), unchangeable in his divinity, without spot in his humanity, he who alone, as Isaias first bore witness, 'hath done no iniquity, neither was there deceit in his mouth' (Isaias liii, 9). Yet more, he alone was not neither 'born in iniquity', nor neither 'conceived in sin', as David witnesses of himself and ever man (Ps. li, 7). Thus even in the flesh that he assumes, he is perfectly pure and without stain and has no need, even in the flesh, of being purified. Thus he receives the passion, his death and resurrection, in his wisdom transmitting to us and for us the purification, at the same time as the judgement. For the carnal act of generation, being involuntary and independent of the rule of the mind, although it is forcibly subjected by some and by others it is used with moderation only for procreation, admits the symbols of the original condemnation. It is corruption, and it is called so, and it engenders only for corruption. It is only the passionate act of one who has not kept the dignity that God has granted us by nature, and which makes him like the beasts.

5. That is why the Mother of God has not only conceived and brought forth God amongst men, but also God took flesh of a Virgin, pure and holy, or rather above all purity and all holiness since she was not merely above all carnal impurity but had passed above all impure thought arising from the flesh. Her conception was due to the indwelling of the Holy Spirit and not to a carnal act: it came from an annunciation and a faith in a friendship of God, triumphant overall reason, since it was extraordinary and incomprehensible, and not from an acceptance and experience of a desire of passion. The Virgin was completely established in prayer and in spiritual joy. 'Behold the handmaid of the Lord; be it done unto me according to thy Word', she said to the angel of the annunciation. So that there would be a Virgin able to this, God prepared and chose before the ages, among those whom he had chosen from the beginning, this young girl, always Virgin, whom we sing to-day.

6. See at what point the election began. Among the children of Adam, God chose the admirable Seth, who showed himself to be as it were a heavenly creature, by the beauty of his ways, the moderation of his feelings, and the nobility of his virtues, and for this he received the election, as a sequel to which this Virgin, fitting means for the God of heaven, would take her birth and lead men back to heavenly adoption.

All the race of Seth would bear the name of 'sons of God' (Gen. iv, 26), for the Son of God would be born as Son of Man in the womb of this race. 'Seth', moreover, is translated as 'resurrection' (anastasis), or rather 'complete resurrection' (exanastasis); this shows us the Lord, promising and granting immortal life to those who believe in him. How well this figure fits in! For Eve Seth came, as she said herself, in the place of Abel (Gen. iv, 25), whom Cain killed through jealousy. In the same way Christ, child of the Virgin, came for our nature in the place of Adam, whom the prince and chief of evil put to death through jealousy. But Seth did not bring Abel back to life, for he was only the figure of the resurrection, while our Saviour Jesus Christ raised up Adam, for he is the true Life and the Resurrection of men, by which the children of Seth received the divine adoption in hope, when they were called sons of God. And it is clear that it was certainly in this hope that they were called sons of God, after the first who received this name and was heir to this election: Enoch,

son of Seth, who, as Moses writes, 'first hoped to invoke the name of the Lord God' (Gen. iv, 26) (*Septuagint text*). Do you see clearly that he received the divine name in hope?

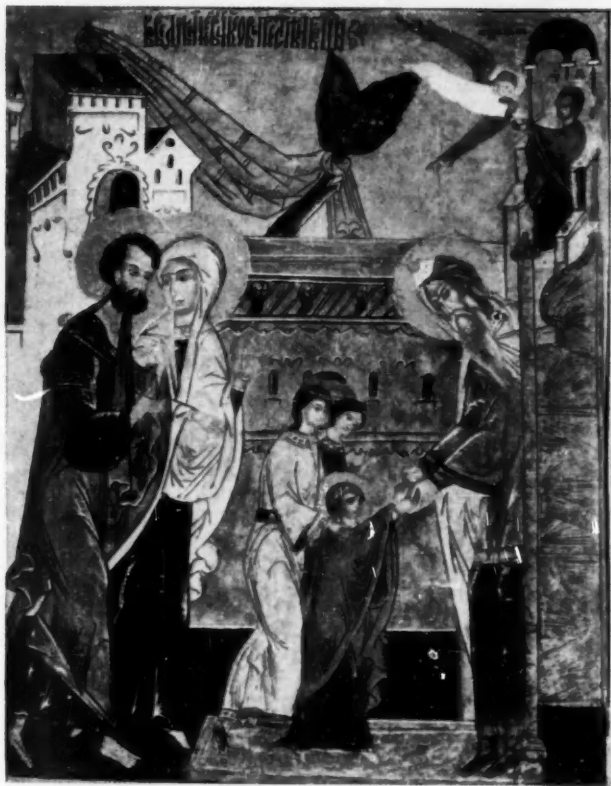
7. So the election which had in view by the divine foreknowledge, her who should become the Mother of God, had its origin in the children of Adam themselves, filled up in the successive generations, descended as far as the King and prophet David and the heirs of his sceptre and race. When it came to the time when this election should find its fulfilment, Joachim and Anne, of the house and country of David, were chosen by God. They had no children and their married life was chaste. Their virtue surpassed that of all those who could trace back the nobility of their race and their ways to David. It was to them that God now promised and gave the child who would be the Mother of God, at the time that they, in asceticism and prayer, begged God to end their sterility and promised to offer God the infant they should have, from the most tender infancy. Thus the infant, clothed in all the virtues, is conceived by virtuous parents. The All-pure is engendered by those who excel in temperance. Temperance joined to prayer and asceticism, bears fruit, becomes the mother of virginity, of a virginity which gives a carnal birth without corruption to Him who, in his divinity is born before all ages to a virgin Father. O what merit in this prayer! O what liberty (*parrhesia*) it finds before the Saviour!

8. But since they saw their prayer granted in this way and the divine promise fulfilled, they too hastened to fulfil their own promise to God, in their sincerity, piety and love of God. Taking her immediately from the mother's breast, they took her, the virgin, holy, divine and today the Mother of God—to the temple of God to the High Priest. And she who from this age was full of divine charisma and endowed with a perfect intelligence, understood then, and better than the others, the meaning of this which was accomplished in her, she showed it as best she could: she was not led, but went herself, by her own free-will, as though so naturally she raised herself to holy and divine love, thinking it desirable to enter and live in the holy of holies and knowing that it

was fitting for her. It was by this that the High Priest of God should understand that the child had an exceptional divine grace dwelling in her, and should consider her worthy of greater honours than were accorded to anyone at all, to introduce her into the holy of holies, to convince all the witnesses to accept these events with love, since God himself decided so and sent to the Virgin, by the mediation of angels, a mysterious heavenly nourishment. By this nourishment she was much strengthened in her nature and by her body even, she was preserved and fulfilled in a purity greater and a state superior to that of incorporeal beings, the heavenly spirits being at her service. It was not on one occasion only that she was introduced into the holy of holies, but she lived there as one given up to God over a long period of years, since it was by her that the heavenly dwellings would, in due time, be opened and given as an eternal habitation to those who believed in her marvellous child.

9. Thus, then, she who was elected among the elect from the beginning, made manifest as a saint among the saints, she whose body is more pure and divine than even the spirits purified by virtue, for this body is not the vessel of figurative words, but of the hypostatic and only Word of the eternal Father, she is fittingly now placed in the holy sanctuary as a treasure of God, who should serve him in his time—which is now come—for the purpose of an enrichment and supernatural and universal glory. He glorifies his mother before and after his own birth. As for us, realizing that our salvation is begun in her, we give thanks and we sing as best we can. For if, as we read in the Scriptures, the noble woman, after hearing a little the saving words of the Lord, rendered blessings and thanks to his Mother, crying out and raising her voice from the crowd to say, 'Blessed is the womb that bore thee and the breasts that gave thee suck' (Luke xi, 27), we who possess in writing all the words of eternal life, and not the words only, but the miracles, the passion and, by her, the resurrection from amongst the dead of our kind, his ascension from earth to heaven, and the life everlasting and the salvation which were promised us, how can we fail to sing and glorify without cease the Mother of the head of our Salvation, of the Giver of life, in celebrating her Conception, her birth, and now her entry into the holy of holies?

10. But let us transport ourselves, my brethren, from earth to heaven, let us rise from flesh to spirit, change our desires from the fleeting to the eternal, despise the pleasures of the flesh, whose attraction seduces the soul, but which ravishes swiftly. Let us desire spiritual gifts, since they perish not. Let us raise our interest and our reason above the tumult here below, carry them into the heavenly sanctuary, this holy of holies where now is the Mother of God. For it is thus that our chants and the prayers that we address to her will indeed reach her for our good and with a liberty (parrhesia) pleasing to God. Thus, apart from present good things, by her intercession, by the grace and love towards men of Jesus Christ, our Lord, borne by her for our salvation, to whom belongs the glory, the honour and the adoration as to the Father, without beginning, and to the Spirit, eternal and life-giving, now and always and for ages of ages. Amen.



Presentation in the Temple
(XVI century)

By courtesy of Association L'Icône, Paris;



OUR LADY OF CZENSTOCHOWA

By courtesy of Polish Research Centre

OUR LADY OF CZENSTOCHOWA

(BETWEEN EAST AND WEST)

OUR LADY OF CZENSTOCHOWA, a traditional emblem of Catholics of Poland wherever they are found, has gained a widespread popularity in England since the coming in 1940 of the Polish Forces to this country and later that of the refugees. The history of this venerated picture is worth recalling in this Marian Year as it can establish a Marial link between East and West.

Of course, like so many other Western images, famous by their miracles or by the rôle they played in the religious and even civil history of their adoptive countries, Our Lady of Czenstochowa is an oriental eikon, or at least of an oriental type. Its true history is very uncertain, but tradition and legend supply indications which in themselves are not without significance. Thus, according to Ukrainian sources, the famous eikon (celebrated in poetry among many others by Hilaire Belloc) is considered to have been one of the three life portraits of our Lady painted by St Luke which were preserved in the Byzantine empire. The holy princess Predislava (known also as St Praxede, who was so closely connected with Rome)—a scion of the house of Rurik, being higoumena (abbess) of a convent in Polotzk in White Ruthenia or Belorussia—earnestly implored one of the Comnenian emperors, on her own behalf and in the name of family ties, to grant her one of these Lukian madonnas. Her fervour, as well apparently as the force of other considerations, was so great that the basilus allowed to be brought from Ephesus, where it had been venerated, precisely the above-mentioned image, and after keeping it for some time in Constantinople sent it to Polotzk. The saintly higoumena covered it with gold and jewellery and placed it in her oratory, where it enjoyed a great cultus till 1270. From thence it was taken, to safeguard it from Tartar raids, to the kingdom of Halich, which, independent of the Tartars and politically in close relations with Hungary, Poland, Bohemia and Western countries, was reputed to be a safe place. Lev of Halich, son of King Danylo who had been crowned in 1254 in the name of Pope Innocent IV, kept it in the ducal oratory of his stronghold of Belz, not far from the then border of Poland. So far the Ukrainian tradition.

Another tradition, more legendary, agrees with the first in attributing the famous eikon to the work of St Luke, but

maintains that it was sent by one of the Byzantine emperors to Charlemagne and thereby came into the possession of the Kievan sovereigns who at one time were closely connected with the reigning families of the Latin West.

However that may be, its history begins a little later: that is, documentary history. It is certain that Duke Ladysav of Opole—one of the petty dynasts of the house of Piast, the early Polish dynasty which disappeared in Royal Poland but survived for centuries in Silesian territories—acting at that time as lieutenant-general of Louis of Anjou, king of Hungary and intermediary king of Poland, discovered the revered Madonna in the castle of Belz and giving up his lieutenancy decided to transfer her to his own domains in Silesia. But, so runs the tradition, having set out on his journey, he reached the height on which stood the little village of Tchenstokhowa (Czenstochowa), on the border of Silesia and Royal Poland, and there the horses drawing the carriage on which the eikon had been placed obstinately refused to go further (—a leitmotif so often occurring in stories about holy images), and nothing could be done. So Duke Ladyslav brought the picture first to a parish church nearby; then struck by the strange event founded a monastery for its service and established there a community of fathers of St Paul the First Hermit.

This religious order is not widely known. Like many other brotherhoods in the thirteenth century, it had been given the rule of St Augustine and took on a form of life similar to that of the mendicants, the models for the period, though something of its original character as an anachoritical order was preserved—as with the primitive Carmelites. Thus it had its origin in a brotherhood of Hungarian hermits, established by a Polish saint, James Zurawek, who came into Hungary from the Carpathian mountains.

In Czenstochowa the Paulines flourished exceedingly and having won favour by their guardianship of the Madonna they were able to make numerous foundations throughout the ancient territories of Poland, Lithuania and Ruthenia, only to be destroyed by the Partitions made by Russia and Joseph II. Nevertheless, they have still their Madonna which is the *raison d'être* of their order.

To-day, the basilica of Our Lady of Czenstochowa, with its 300 ft high campanile, arranged with inner lanterns so that Mass can be said in it at different levels and be visible to great concourses of people from afar, is the heart of an

amazingly complex town of churches, chapels, hostelries, monastic buildings, ancient fortress walls and moat, towers and gates, arcades and shops: it dominates the rocky hill and the great modern industrial town of Czenstochowa which spreads at its feet. The proper name for the sanctuary is the Mount of Light.

This hallowed spot played a pre-eminent role in Polish history in the seventeenth century at the time of the so-called 'Flood', for, not unlike France in the Hundred Years' War, the more than a million square kilometres large Republic of Poland-Lithuania-Ruthenia was successively under Swedish, Branderburgian, Muscovite, Transylvanian, Tartar and Cossack occupation, the king in exile in Silesia, religious persecution raging and everywhere an unbelievable ruin. That was the time of which Bossuet used to say of Poland: 'Everyone was looking where the big tree would fall!' In the general destruction only one fastness was able to resist and that was the fortified monastery of Our Lady of Czenstochowa with its tiny garrison, with all its insufficiency of armaments, but sustained mightily by its trust in the Help of Christians. After a very severe and prolonged siege the outpost of Our Lady triumphed over its assailants. So Our Lady manifested herself in deed as Sovereign and Defender of the country. The tide of misfortune suddenly turned and once again the invaders were thrown back; and, returning to his own, the king John Casimir Wasa (of the Swedish dynasty) in 1656, in the Latin cathedral of Lwow, solemnly proclaimed Our Lady Queen and Suzerain of Poland and all countries united to her, promising at the same time to undertake very important social reforms. In this way Our Lady of Czenstochowa became a national centre of pilgrimage for Poland and the adjacent countries. In 1726 she received the Roman crowning and ever since has enjoyed a spiritual predominance which is unique in religious history.

The Muscovite tsar of the time—one of the Romanoffs—was so impressed by the events which were then widely reported that he asked permission for a special embassy of his to visit the place in order to ascertain the whole history, check the evidences and present his offerings. His envoy with amazing clairvoyance told his sovereign that the place was one of marvellous grace and virtue, and that Russians ought to unite here with the Poles in a sort of spiritual alliance and common allegiance to the Heavenly Queen for the good of Christendom. Perhaps his vision may yet be realized . . .

But to this day Our Lady of Czenstochowa, though venerated by the Russians, remains a butt of persecution of their governments under whatever forms they have held sway over the Polish land.

The popularity of the miraculous eikon defies all description. The crowds that used to gather there at different annual times throughout the centuries, till the recent German occupation when they were prevented, numbered no fewer than half a million at a time. Under the present regime the great gathering in 1948, at one of the last meetings of the Polish hierarchy under Cardinal Hlond, saw no less than two million people. And these pilgrimages have their own folk-lore and folk-literature which are worthy of study. The literary history of Our Lady of Czenstochowa, which reaches its peak in Mickiewicz's great poem, is an interesting one too. More interesting still perhaps is the evidence of foreign travellers and men of letters, like that of the convert Soviet officer Koriakow, or that of an anonymous German agnostic in the First Great War. But the hallowed spot and its Queen have, besides, a political history which is too long to be remembered here.

Nevertheless, though books and pamphlets on Our Lady of Czenstochowa are countless, the strictly scientific approach to the Madonna was lacking until the restoration work of the thirties. Many forgotten or uncertain facts were brought to light.

Specialists differ as to the age and origin of the holy picture. The late Professor Styger, a leading Swiss scholar of early Christian art, was unwilling to attach any great age to the eikon. He considered it to belong to the early thirteenth century and to be of Italo-Greek authorship. More recent research places it farther in antiquity, referring it to the ninth or even seventh centuries, and making it more or less a copy of Blachernae. The eikon was painted on a cypress-wood desk covered with plaster. The painting was damaged many times as a result of Hussite or other assaults, and the face of the Virgin still bears the marks of the sword-blows. Probably the eikon was on some occasion temporarily dismantled . . . In any case an interesting feature has been discovered, namely that, in an early restoration undertaken in the first half of the fifteenth century or before, the head of the Madonna has been ornamented with the Angevin lily fixed against the blue background of the veil, and this is a sure sign of the will of Hedwige of Anjou, the daughter of Louis of Hungary;

crowned 'king' of Poland at the end of the fourteenth century and wedded to Jagello of Lithuania, this saintly princess accomplished in a peaceful way the conversion of the last pagan state in Europe, the Lithuanian. By this expression of her will the Blessed Hedwige seems to have transferred already her hereditary kingship to Our Lady of Czenstochowa.¹

It is certain that the eastern Madonna, now adorned by heavy crowns (the last a personal gift of Pope St Pius X) and innumerable jewels, has preserved for us a very early and impressive approach to her Person. To-day, all the painting is made invisible (save in the photographs taken at the time of the restorations) by the ornaments and precious robes: only the faces and hands of the Virgin and her Child are to be seen. Darkened with smoke and age they have given to Our Lady of Czenstochowa the name of the Black Madonna, but certainly it was not so at the beginning, however olive and rather dark, levantine, were the represented types. What is striking in this Madonna is her majesty—one would almost say at first sight, her severity. But as one looks deeper, one sees that that restrained and ingathered majesty is an inner and powerful concentration. She is truly an our Lady of inner potency and might: it was in this way that she impressed so much the German unbeliever we have spoken of above. Put into her presence, one feels suddenly transported into the ambit of the unseen.

And yet she is not—at least, not now—prominent for physical wonders and miracles. Certainly, these do occur, but they are rarely sought here. What here is asked for is spiritual leadership, spiritual help, inner radiance, light and faith in the struggles of life. Thus, the sanctuary of Czenstochowa is a spiritual refuge in a very true sense, and sight of the Madonna is a spiritual banquet to rich and poor, but especially to the poorest and most dejected. She is, indeed, there a *Porta Coeli*, an argument for the unseen.

¹ It might be mentioned here, for clearness' sake, that the princess Hedwige or Jadwiga (in Polish) was invested with the kingship of Poland and therefore, according to Polish usage, 'king' of Poland, as the granddaughter of Casimir the Great, last of the Piast dynasty in its royal branch. Her own father Louis was king of Hungary and of Poland, though in Poland his power was limited and his rule unpopular. The Duke of Opole who brought the famous eikon to Czenstochowa, a condottiere of royal blood, was of Hungarian not Polish allegiance. The fact that the eikon was brought to rest in the Polish territory of Czenstochowa is not one to be assessed on a natural, political level. In any case it is certain that it is not robbed booty of war, as has been sometimes maintained.

Previous to the great event of 1655 when she is reputed to have acted as the Joan of Arc of Poland, as well as after, she has received the homage of kings and potentates; she presided over the conversion of Hetman Orlyk, the successor of the celebrated Mazeppa to the sovereignty of Cossack Ukraine. Even William II of Germany thought it expedient to pay her tribute. But her mission is not so much with the mighty as to manifest her might in regard to peoples and souls. Real palladium and symbol of the Catholic Faith in Poland, she unites in her self and in her history Constantinople, Kiev, Moscow and Rome, East and West, the peoples of the Ukraine and Galicia, of Belorussia, Lithuania, the Baltic States and Poland, Silesia, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, and so on; the past sufferings with future hopes; the mediterranean zones of history with those of North-eastern Europe; the traditions of a living Gospel with the religious life of territories which have neither the advantages nor the hindrances imposed by survivals from pre-Christian civilizations—and in this Marian Year she truly can be greeted, by these words of an all too brief essay, as Queen of the reunion of Christendom in the hopeful tasks and adventures of a new world that is to succeed the one now partly destroyed by war and persecution.

B.K.

(NOTE.—It must be noted, by reason of careless affirmations of certain scholars not fully acquainted with the proper data, that Our Lady of Czenstochowa has *never* been a so-called Russian eikon. However ancient traditions represent it to be, it is at best a *Greek one* and never went into Russian territory or even passed under direct Russian rule. Her national rôle in Poland alone prevents us from including the eikon in a history of Russian art.)

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LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

To Dom Bede Winslow, Editor of the *E.C.Q.*,

Ramsgate, England

13th January, 1955

DEAR REVEREND FATHER EDITOR,

Thanks for the review of my book *The Divine Liturgy*, published by the 'Redeemer's Voice', Yorkton, Sask., 1953.

Reading this review of Fr Dr Denis R. Kiwicz, in your magazine, Vol. X, No. 7, Autumn 1954, I noticed that the reviewer has been very superficial and unacquainted with the sound rules of a sound critique. Being, however, a religious C.S.S.R., I thought that I should keep quiet and not to defend myself, since it was my book that has been so unjustly and superficially attacked by a Dr of O.F.M.

Unfortunately, yesterday, I received a telephone call from my censor, exhorting me to reply to my reviewer. I said to him that I still preferred to keep quiet. But to-day I received a letter from our Chancery dated 10th January 1955, N.413/51. M., wherein his Excellency Archbishop C. Bohachewsky notified me that the diocesan censors had been reproached by someone that they gave their approval to publish such a book.

Besides, my local Superior told me that I must reply to my critic, Rev. Dr Denis R. Kiwicz, O.F.M.

And here I am, passing one by one his remarks:

1. My critic objects that I am using the Latin authors whom I continually quote to substantiate my assertions. It is true that I quote them, because the writers of the Eastern Church were not available to me at that time, although now and then I also quote them in my book. Is it anything wrong to quote the Latin writers? I don't think so, although it would be better, if the quotations were taken from the works of the Eastern Fathers.

2. 'It is pity', says my critic, 'that no mention is made to the Russian practices in the development of the Eucharistic Cult . . .' why should I appeal to the Russian practices? I give a short story of the development of the liturgy without intention to speak about the Eucharistic Cult either in Ukraine or Russia . . .

I would suggest to my critic to read a little pamphlet published by Harold C. Gardiner, s.j. 'Tenets for Readers and Reviewers'. It tells very clearly what the task of a critic is and how he should review a book. The task of a critic is not to tell the author what he should put into his book, but to investigate whether the things he is writing are theologically

and canonically correct. The division and disposition of the material is completely the author's privilege.

3. The critic objects that I use the term 'Ukrainian Church' which, according to him, 'must be avoided absolutely'. Why? What is wrong? Is not the Catholic Church in Italy *Italian*, in England *English*, in France *French*, Ireland *Irish* etc.? Such a term is used whether someone likes it or not. The term being disliked by someone does not become illegal or wrong just because someone does not like it. I hope that by now my critic knows that Dr Luznytsky published a book, *Ukrainian Church between East and West*, which has been approved by His Excellency Archbishop Constantine Bohachewsky in 1952.

I must add, however, that I usually use words 'Church', 'Catholic Church', 'Eastern Church' in my text. The term 'Ukrainian Church' has been used but once in the whole book of 160 pages. It is not very often, is it?

4. My critic contradicts himself without noticing it. In one place he says: 'Regarding the illustrations of the main acts of the liturgy—it would be better if they were inserted into the liturgical text itself'. A little further he says that the illustration of how to make the sign of the cross should not be placed in the text, because it destroys the 'continuity of the liturgical formulary'. How can a critic overlook that he is contradicting himself by such statements?

5. My critic says that these illustrations are 'very poor'. Is my critic an artist? I do not know . . . But the illustrations have been seen by many . . . No one said that they were *very poor* . . . although they are not masterpieces of art.

Besides my critic asserts that the illustrations 'do not correspond with the real ceremonial functions', and he points out at p. 134. It is true that this cut is not liturgical. But I must say that it was inserted without my knowledge by the printer. There are in my book many other decent cuts . . . Why does my critic say that 'they are poor and do not correspond . . .' Does he not know that 'The part does not condemn the whole'?

6. My critic asserts that it was my intention to 'teach the people how to serve at the liturgy . . .' This intention 'will never be fully realized, as the format of the book is too big and practically no one would carry such a volume into the church'. How does my critic know that I intended to write a liturgical handbook or prayer book? Do I say so? Where? On what page?

7. My critic says that I should have had the Old Slavonic characters preserved in my text? What is wrong in using the

Ukrainian characters? Very few people would be able to read the book if it were written in the Old Slavonic. And my intention was to induce the people read the book and to understand what it says. All our prayerbooks are written with the Ukrainian characters.

8. The critic says that 'The use of the incense is mentioned just before the Gospel, whereas it should have been mentioned when it is first used in the prothesis'. How can my critic affirm such a thing? His assertions clearly shows that he did not read my book, or at least he did not read it seriously. If he did not read it, he should not have written a review. I mention the incense 'just when it comes first!!! Look at p. 17 (three times the incense is mentioned), p. 18 (twice), p. 19 (twice), and all that in the prothesis.' Thus the incense is mentioned seven times before the Gospel . . . How can my critic say that it is not?

9. My critic objects that in beginning 'vestitio' of the deacon I do not mention 'dalmatic' . . . Does the new missal published by the Oriental Congregation mention dalmatic when it relates the prayers during the prothesis? No, it does not. How can I mention it if the missal does not mention it. (See, Missal, pp. 7-8.)

10. My critic says that I should have omitted the 'explanations of the individual petitions in the Litanies which are sufficiently clear themselves . . .' Are they? To the common people for whom my book was written? Being a priest myself I can say that they are not . . . And thus the explanation of the individual petitions is in its proper place.

I thank my critic for his remarks and expect that my reply will make him more serious in his reviews in the future.

Dear Father Editor, please publish this reply in the *E.C.Q.* to make justice to my censors. Thanks.

Yours truly in Christ,

MICHAEL SCHUDLO, C.S.S.R.

Reply to Rev. Fr Michael Schudlo, C.S.S.R.

Taking one by one his remarks.

Ad. 1 and 2. If *essential* material is lacking the task of writing should be abandoned or postponed. A book is not a sole collection of some handy material put somehow together. There is no objection to using the Latin authors here and there, but not 'continually'. The reader should ever be considered—in this case the Ukrainians of the Byzantine rite to whom 'Ruthenian'—'Russian' practices and Eastern citations are certainly more appealing than the Latin.

No one would be chosen to review a book unless he is considered to have qualification for it. To 'investigate whether the things are theologically and canonically correct' is the task of the CENSOR, not of the critic! In fact from the very beginning the critic refused to interview such a popular work for such a high standard periodical as *E.C.Q.*, he did so merely 'fraternitatis causa'.

Ad. 3. By 'avoiding', it is not said, 'wrong'—but improper. Certainly, however wrong it is to speak of an 'Italian Church' or 'English Church' only and to expect to understand the *Catholic Church* in England, or Italy.

Ad. 4. The sign of the cross is not a 'MAIN ACT OF THE LITURGY'. While speaking of the ILLUSTRATIONS OF THE MAIN ACTS', the sign of the cross cannot be included. There is no contradiction whatsoever in the critic, he clearly said that it 'should be placed in the form of *General Prescriptions* before the liturgical text.

Ad. 5. It is not necessary to be an artist in order to esteem the illustrations as 'very poor' (by the way, the critic did study Byzantine Art also), everyone who sees them will agree with him.

Ad. 6. If the book has no intention to teach how to serve at the liturgy (the best method of assisting at it) and this is certainly the only purpose for such a popular work, then it remains a school-book only, and for that the author will have to change his pompous foreword.

Ad. 7 and 10. The Old Slavonic text [*sic.*] being Ukrainaized remains 'sufficiently clear' [*sic.*] although in some expressions not completely understood, but taking the frequent assistance of the people to the liturgy into account, it is 'clear' enough. Insert either one text (the Ukrainaized Old-Slavonic, or the Ukrainian translation) or both in their *original* form.

Ad. 8. It is plain, that the author did not read the review properly. Not the use of the incense but 'the notes on them' [*sic.*] (the decisions of the Sacred Congregation' in regard the incense). The remainder of it should have been mentioned at its first use—in the prothesis, and not when the action occurs the eighth time.

Ad. 9. The consistency is being recalled. If the 'Missal' does not mention the 'dalmatic', why does the author do so? If he does then he should logically mention it in the 'vestitio' (where he does not dare to do so!) but dares on page 155 where he even gives a representation of it and calls it by that name.

FR DR DENIS RUDOLPH KIWICZ, O.F.M.

NEWS AND COMMENTS

This issue has been delayed as we have waited for the article of the Rev. Dr G. Florovsky. We will have to print the paper in a later issue and we hope our readers will excuse this short number.

* * * *

We are giving only two eikons of Our Lady. That of Our Lady of Czenstochowa because of the article. It is indeed pleasing to consider this as an 'Eikon of Unity'. And that of the Presentation since it has some bearing, in the mind of the East, on the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception.

We will quote from the Coptic Synaxarium for the feast of the Conception of St Anne.

'That day God sent his principal Angel Gabriel to announce to Joachim, the just man, the birth of our Lady, mother of God according to the flesh. This virtuous man and his wife Anne were advanced in age, and had no children, for she was sterile. They were extremely distressed, for the Israelites despised those who had no children, and said to them 'Thou, who art deprived of blessing!' By reason of their sorrow of heart, this just man and his wife used to pray and implore God continually night and day. They had reached the borders of old age; they used to address repeated prayers and vowed to make the child that would come to them a servant of the temple. When Joachim was in the mountain, while he was continually imploring God, sleep came upon him. He slept, and the angel of God, Gabriel, appeared to him and announced that Anne his wife would conceive and give birth to a child who would rejoice his heart, charm his eyes and cause joy and contentment in the world. When he awoke he went home and informed his wife, and they believed the vision. And immediately she conceived and gave to the world Our Lady Mary and was glorified above all the women of the world. May her intercession be with us.' [P.O. t. xvii fasc., 3, pp. (1250-1)].

* * * *

The Ukrainian Review. Vol. I, No. 1. December 1954.

This is a new Quarterly. It has eighty-four pages of text and is well illustrated, we wish it all success. It is published by the Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain, 49 Linden Gardens, London, W.2

THE INTERNATIONAL AUGUSTINIAN CONGRESS

The International Congress to celebrate the sixteenth centenary of the birth of St Augustine, held at the Institut Catholique from 21st to 24th September 1954, attracted a large gathering of scholars of different nationalities and religious affiliations. Besides strong French, German, Spanish and Italian contingents and at least one very notable representative from Holland, there was a respectable attendance of scholars from Great Britain and Ireland. The Orthodox East had only one representative, but that a most adequate one, Professor V. Lossky.

The organization of the Congress was designed to ensure strict attention to the business in hand and to exert the powers of the members to the utmost. All papers submitted had been published beforehand in the two magnificent volumes entitled *Augustinus Magister*, which will be a lasting monument to the work of the organizers of the Congress. They were grouped into sections, *Monachism, Platonism, Mysticism, Theory of Knowledge, Theology of History, Grace, etc.*, and a distinguished scholar was entrusted with the presentation of a *rapport* on the papers in each section at the sessions of the Congress devoted to the subject, which was followed by a discussion. The *rapports* were many of them brilliant pieces of work—they are to be published, along with some further communications, in a third volume of *Augustinus Magister*—but they were also sometimes excessively long. The fact that all members of the Congress (so far as the weakness of human nature allowed) attended every session made the numbers rather large for satisfactory discussion; and some members seemed to have come with the intention not so much of discussing as of delivering supplementary communications to the Congress, sometimes of considerable length. But there *were* some spirited and interesting discussions: it was obvious that the study of St Augustine still arouses extremely strong feelings. The divisions, however, were not at all on confessional lines; the most vigorous and impassioned exchanges were between Catholic scholars and on questions of scholarship rather than theology (though sometimes with theological implications).

It would be impossible even to attempt a survey of the papers published in the two great volumes of communications. I can only say that there is something in them not only for every student of any aspect of Augustine's thought and influence but for every student of Western Christian theology

and philosophy—which after all comes to much the same thing. And the collection as a whole gives a better idea than anything yet published of the range and richness of Augustine's mind. Like Plato, he is a world in himself.

No one who attended the Congress can write about it without expressing the sincerest gratitude and admiration for the work of the Secretary, Père G. Folliet, A.A., and his many devoted collaborators, Augustinians of the Assumption and others, both in the organization of the Congress and the publication of *Augustinus Magister*.

A.H.A.

* * * *

CONSECRATION OF MGR ELIAS ZOGHBY AS TITULAR ARCHBISHOP OF NUBIA

On Sunday, 21st November 1954, there took place at the Melchite cathedral of Cairo, with all the splendour of the Byzantine rite, the consecration of Mgr Élias Zoghby as titular archbishop of Nubia.

By the time that the ceremony was ready to begin, the cathedral was filled to overcrowding. Among the eminent dignitaries of the Church who were present at this ceremony, there was His Lordship Porphyrios, archbishop of Sinai, His Beatitude Marcus II, Coptic Uniate patriarch of Alexandria, Mgr Scherano, chargé d'affaires of the Holy See, and numerous other prelates and clergy both regular and secular of the Eastern Churches, Orthodox and Uniate, as well as of the Latin Church. The Jewish Community was likewise represented by the venerable grand rabbi, His Eminence Nahum. Among the diplomatic corps there were the ambassadors of Jordania, Irak and Syria, the chargé d'affaires of France, the chargé d'affaires of the Lebanon, and representatives of the Belgian, Italian and U.S.A. Embassies. The president of the Council of the Egyptian Government was represented by the Lewa Attiya Rezkallah.

Precisely at 10.30 a.m. the procession entered the cathedral by the west door, and the choir sang one of the troparia of the Resurrection, followed by the troparion of the Feast of the Presentation of the Holy Virgin to the Temple. The procession was headed by a cross-bearer accompanied by acolytes bearing the hexapetriga, candles and censer. Next came the deacons and priests vested for the divine liturgy, and then followed the archbishop-elect, Mgr Elias Zoghby, wearing the insignia of archimandrite. After him followed their Lordships Mgr Medawar, metropolitan of Pelusium and

Mgr Kfoury, metropolitan of Tarsus, and finally there came His Beatitude Maximus IV, patriarch of Antioch, Alexandria and Jerusalem, vested in the mandyas. The procession halted before the eiconostasis, where he vested for the divine liturgy, in his pontifical vestments. In the meantime, the choir sang the doxology, i.e. Glory be to God on high, etc., and the divine liturgy was begun by Mgr Elias Zoghby. It proceeded in the usual manner of pontifical liturgies as far as the Little Entry with the Gospels, when, however, only the deacon bearing the Gospels entered into the sanctuary.

At this point in the divine liturgy, His Beatitude and the assistant metropolitans took their seats on three thrones which had been set before the eiconostasis, while the rest of the clergy, with the archbishop-elect in their midst, stood in a semi-circle before them. In the meantime, a carpet, having in its centre the design of an eagle, was spread out on the floor before the steps of the eiconostasis. Then Mgr Elias Zoghby advanced to the tail of the eagle, where he made the first profession of Faith, namely the Nicene Creed. Having received the blessing of His Beatitude, Mgr Elias then advanced as far as the middle of the eagle, where he made the second profession of Faith regarding the Holy Trinity. Having again been blessed by His Beatitude, Mgr Elias advanced once again to the head of the eagle, where he made the third profession of faith regarding the Incarnation of Christ. Having received a third benediction from His Beatitude, Mgr Elias was led into the sanctuary and conducted thrice round the altar by the assistant metropolitans, whilst the choir sang 'Holy Martyrs who contested well, etc.' The book of the Gospels was then held above the head of Mgr Elias, as he knelt at the altar, and His Beatitude placing his right hand upon his head, then recited the prayers of consecration. This ceremony concluded, Mgr Elias was clothed in the pontifical vestments (rose-coloured) to the accompanying exclamations of *Axios, Axios, Axios* (Worthy, Worthy, Worthy).

The divine liturgy then proceeded in the usual manner till the prayer behind the ambon. Here, when this prayer had been recited, His Beatitude delivered to the new archbishop the pastoral staff, with the words: 'Receive the staff that thou mayest shepherd the flock entrusted to thee, etc.' At the conclusion of the divine liturgy, His Beatitude and the new archbishop vested in their mandyas proceeded with the cathedral clergy to a marquee erected at the side of the



His Lordship Elias Zoghby, Titular Archbishop of Nubia



The Patriarch Maximos IV placing the *encolpion* on Mgr Zoghby's neck during the consecration

cathedral (the reception hall of the cathedral is at present under repair), where a reception was given.

Mgr Elias Zoghby was born at Cairo on 11th January 1912. Having completed his studies at the Melchite Patriarchal college in Cairo, he proceeded to the seminary of St Anne at Jerusalem, where he was admitted to the diaconate on 20th July 1934, and to the priesthood, two years later, on 20th July 1936.

From 1937 to 1941 Mgr Elias occupied the Chair of Arabic Literature in the seminary of St Anne at Jerusalem, and in 1941 he returned to Cairo, where until 1949 he was vicar of the parishes of St George and of the Holy Virgin Mary of Peace, as well as president of the Institute known as 'Dar as-Salam'.

In 1949 Mgr Elias went to Alexandria, where he was appointed vicar of the parish of the Holy Virgin Mary at Ibrahimieh, a suburb of this city, and chaplain of the 'Foyer de la Jeunesse Catholique'.

In June, 1952, Mgr Elias was made archimandrite and, at the same time, he was nominated patriarchal vicar at Alexandria and President of the Ecclesiastical court of the patriarchate.

In the summer of 1954, Mgr Elias was elected titular archbishop of Nubia, at the Melchite Synod held at Ain-Traz in the Lebanon. Besides being titular archbishop of Nubia, Mgr Elias Zoghby is likewise patriarchal vicar-general for Egypt and the Sudan.

Eis Polla Etê, Despota !

O. H. E. HADJI-BURMESTER.

OBITUARY

Archbishop-Bishop, Mar Serverios, bishop of Tiruvalla of the Syro-Malankara rite died on 19th January.

Mar Serverios had been a Jacobite and a disciple of Mar Ivanios. He took his degree at the University of Calcutta. In 1933 he was consecrated bishop and became the Jacobite Metropolitan of Niranam. He was reconciled with the Church in 1937. From that day till he died he was a labourer in the field of reunion.

It was only last April that Mar Athanasios was consecrated bishop and was the auxiliary in Tiruvalla. Let us pray for Mar Severios and his Church.

RECENT PUBLICATIONS

Origen's Doctrine of Tradition by R. P. C. Hanson (S.P.C.K.) 25s.

One of the most decisive areas of discussion in the ecumenical dialogue is that which is concerned with the nature of tradition, its relation to the Scriptures, and the connection of these sources of knowledge about Christ and his teaching with the mind of the Church. It is precisely at this point that we are faced with the crucial issue in which the divisions of Christendom have originated. Every serious study of what primitive antiquity has to say about this subject helps to elucidate the facts upon which judgement must be made if ecumenical thought is to be brought to bear on men's minds. Dr Hanson has made a detailed study of Origen's view of tradition, as preparatory to a more extensive exploration of his theology as a whole. The ultimate objective of this is to ascertain how far the scholarship of one of the great biblical scholars of the early church can compare with and complement modern biblical studies. He calls attention to the fact that, as far as English scholarship is concerned, Origen is almost unexplored territory. Though the position is somewhat better on the Continent, nobody has ever written a book in any language on Origen's doctrine of tradition. Until his ideas on this point are fairly understood no study of his theology as a whole can be quite complete.

Any detailed criticism of Dr Hanson's book would require an exact and first-hand knowledge of Origen's works and of the contemporary patristic field. His essay is evidently that of a scholar of unquestionable integrity and competence. As he himself says, his is the humble but necessary work of laying the foundations of a future edifice, and he is concerned therefore much more with historical fact than with theological synthesis. It is when he does on occasion attempt such synthesis that his non-specialist Catholic readers will suspect that something is lacking for which he can hardly be held blameworthy. It would appear that his work, so far as it has proceeded, suffers from the absence of any accessible theological treatment, by a Catholic theologian, of the nature of tradition, worked backwards, as it were, from the decisions of Vatican and Trent to the New Testament, and illustrated historically from the development of dogma over the whole period. The exact point where this seems most needed is on the question of the relation, in Origen's view, between the Rule of Faith and the Scriptures. The Council of Trent

defined that the saving truth communicated by Christ to his Apostles, or brought to their minds by the inspiration of the Holy Ghost, is contained in the Scriptures and in unwritten traditions, and that equal reverence is to be given to both. (*Denzinger-Bannwart* 783.)

It does not follow necessarily from the words of the decree of the Council that these unwritten traditions were a body of doctrine, not contained in Scripture but handed down orally, side by side with the truths later embodied in the Scriptures of the New Testament. The words might equally well mean that they were traditions of apostolic knowledge of the Lord's mind, subsequently used both to interpret the written word, and to explain the nature of dominical Christian institutions. It is clear that, from the very first, tradition grew by continuous theological interpretation of Christ's original teaching, under the guidance and inspiration of the Holy Spirit indwelling the Church. After the death of the last Apostle no new truth was added to the deposit of faith. Its interpretation, however, continued, and truth, latent in Scripture, was drawn out, in course of time, and made explicit, by the Spirit-guided mind of the Church. From thenceforward this would be handed down as traditional, and its authoritative formulation treated with a reverence equal to that accorded to truth explicit in the Scriptures from the first. Both readings of the words of the Tridentine decree have been, and are, held in the Church, but it is the latter that would appear best to explain Origen's position, and put it in line with the normal development of the mind of the early Church.

Tradition, as Dr Hanson points out, was at first wholly oral and was only gradually crystallized in inspired writings. But the process by which the mind of the Church drew out truths hitherto implicit in the Apostolic preaching was at work from the very first, and is illustrated within the pages of the New Testament by the Judaising controversy. By Origen's time the evolution of the New Testament Canon had greatly advanced, and this would seem to account for his much increased emphasis, as against his former teacher Clement of Alexandria and writers of a previous generation such as Irenaeus, on the non-existence of a separate tradition of unwritten truths. It is historically doubtful how far any independent oral traditions of doctrine did in fact escape incorporation into the written tradition. Dr Hanson's conclusion is that the Rule of Faith, as Origen understood it, was simply the Churches interpretation of Scripture, as it appeared

in the Church of his day, teaching and preaching in continuity with the Apostles. He holds that Origen used a number of terms in this connection which were virtually synonymous: 'κανών or κήρυγμα or λόγος or γνώμη or διδασκαλία or βούλημα or κατήχησις or προθεσις, and he usually accompanied these words with the adjective ἐκκλησιαστικός' (page 113).

But what Dr Hanson does not appear to advert to is that this Rule of Faith was then, as it is to-day, a process as well as an ultimate criterion. The mind of the Church continuously pondered over the deposit of Faith and currently taught the result of its meditation. In consequence of this process the teaching of the Faith became more and more articulated, and was given increasingly defined standards of reference. It appears that in course of time creeds were compiled from lists of these authoritatively formulated articles (δογματά). The Rule of Faith included both process and ultimate formulation, these being respectively equivalent, in modern terms, to common teaching and *de fide* definition. Then, as now, the latter could only be contravened under pain of heresy, the former could, and still can, be prudently set aside by the theologian. In our own day the common teaching about the salvation of the child who dies unbaptized before reaching the age of reason is in fact being set aside in this way by a considerable body of theological opinion.

This review had been written thus far when the October issue of *Theology* reached me, in which Dr Hanson has dealt critically, at some length, with the Catholic view of tradition as set out in Abbot Butler's answer to the re-issue of Salmon's *Infallibility*.¹ Abbot Butler would make no claim that his book, written *ad hoc*, is in any sense a full dress treatment of the nature and history of tradition. It is, however, a clear and ably written exposition of a subject which in this review has been sketched in merest outline. Dr Hanson is in fundamental disagreement with what he believes to be the Catholic view of tradition, but in expressing this disagreement he unwittingly caricatures it. In consequence, he shows some indignation when he finds that Abbot Butler claims that Origen held the Catholic view in substance, and he repeats his contention that Origen encouraged his students to set aside the Church's Rule of Faith, positively wrote against practices, particularly in regard to prayer, which were based on what Abbot Butler would regard as unimpeachable

¹ *The Church and Infallibility* by B. C. Butler, Abbot of Downside. A reply to the Abridged *Salmon*. (Sheed and Ward, 1954).

Catholic tradition, and declared that the authority of bishops was limited by their moral character.

Dr Hanson nowhere maintains that Origen, relying on his own judgement, set aside all tradition as authoritative in interpreting the Scriptures, and the instances he gives are always concerned, as above, with areas of Christian belief which were as yet much more fluid than they subsequently became. Here Origen undoubtedly indulged in considerable speculation. Yet it would be hard indeed, I imagine, to establish that he was ever prepared to deny the authority of the Church in its central teaching, in favour of his own speculations. It is not difficult, however, to show, as Dr Hanson does, that he regarded doctrine commonly accepted in the Church concerning less clearly determined questions, as capable of being lawfully transcended by other doctrine originating in the allegorical method of interpretation which he believed to derive from Christ and his Apostles. It seems likely that this distinction was at least implicit in Origen's thought, while his idea of the Church's Rule of Faith covered both areas, but with differing degrees of authority; the one absolute, the other to be prudently superseded by those duly qualified to do so.

It lies beyond the scope of this review to consider further Dr Hanson's strictures on Abbot Butler's exposition of the doctrine of an infallible tradition. It may be said in passing, however, that neglect of the distinction just indicated, between process and ultimate decision in the formulation of doctrine, had led Dr Hanson into radical misconceptions concerning the nature and function of infallibility. It is surely an inescapable fact of history that the Church, however the term is interpreted, has continuously from the beginning drawn conclusions as to the content of the deposit of faith, or the original revelation of God's activity, not only by processes of logical reasoning but also by an intuitive insight into the divine purpose. In this way it has been enlightened concerning the relation of the old law to its new life, concerning the efficacy of infant and heretical baptism, concerning the inspiration of the several books of the Scriptural Canon, concerning baptism by desire and the salvation of those outside its visible unity. This is to mention only a few points at which the written Word has needed interpretation of this kind, quite apart from more controverted truths, such as the invocation of Saints, and the perpetual virginity, immaculate conception and assumption of our Lady. Like

Dr Salmon's, Dr Hanson's view of infallibility seems to be based on what he thinks the Church ought to claim, given that the claim is made at all, and not on what it actually does claim, and again, like Dr Salmon, he appears at times to equate the notion of infallibility with a kind of inspiration.

It is hardly surprising that his misconceptions set him at odds with a number of eminent Continental theologians who have studied Origen's ideas about tradition. Apart, however, from this gap in his treatment Dr Hanson has written a book for which scholars and less specialist readers will be grateful. He has a valuable chapter on the danger of relying too much on Origen's Latin translators, notably Rufinus, on the ground that they sometimes read into his Greek a meaning, originating in their own prepossessions, beyond what the words will bear. Another valuable chapter deals with the date and order of Origen's works.

HENRY ST JOHN, O.P.

La Mediazione di Maria nella Chiesa Egiziana by Gabriele Giamberardini, O.F.M. (Seminarium franciscane orientale, Ghizae in Aegypto).

This is the second volume published by Father Giamberardini on the Mariology of the Coptic Church. We have already noticed the first volume *Le teologia assunzionistica* in *E.C.Q.*, autumn 1952, and a third one is announced, *L'immacolata Concezione di Maria*. Like the first book this one contains a rich abundance of liturgical texts and other quotations setting forth the glories of Mary. Perhaps it is not quite so convincing as the other for the simple reason that the mediation of the blessed Virgin is an abstract theory, while her Assumption is a historical fact and references to it in ecclesiastical lore cannot be so precise as are those which concern the Assumption. Moreover, though the Coptic Church, like all the other Eastern Churches, is lavish in its poetical praise of the great Mother of God, it would be useless to seek for scholastic definitions in its pronouncement. The Easter¹ lets his heart overflow in love and admiration for her, who gave the world its Saviour, but he does not spend much time in asking himself the how, the why and the wherefore of her intercession for mankind.

Nevertheless, the book is full of interest and is enriched with fifty-one photographs of Egyptian churches, monasteries and eikons. It is thrilling to know that the prayer *sub tuum praesidium* is first found on an Egyptian papyrus dating perhaps from the third century and as such is the most ancient document

we possess of the cult of the blessed Virgin Mary. Likewise a sixth or seventh century document found near Luxor gives us the most ancient version of the Hail Mary. We particularly admire the frank honesty of this work. The author lets his quotations speak for themselves without attempting to forcibly twist them to an interpretation of his own conception, and we heartily endorse his statement that the Copts can be brought nearer to us, not by reproving them for errors that lead them astray, but rather by praising them for the truth they profess. This should be our line of conduct towards all our separated brethren.

N.

Two Rediscovered Works of Ancient Christian Literature. Gregory of Nyssa and Macarius by W. Jaeger. Pp. 301 (Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1954).

St Gregory of Nyssa, after centuries of neglect, has been very well served by modern scholars, and by none better than Professor Werner Jaeger, the editor of the first critical text of St Gregory's works. Now he has put students of the great Cappadocian Doctor still further in his debt by the publication of the present book, which will be of the greatest interest both to scholars and to theologians. The greater part of the book is taken up with a fascinating account of the recovery of the true text of the ascetic treatise of St Gregory whose Latin title is *De Instituto Christiano*, and the relationship of that text to the epitome printed as the text of the treatise in Migne and to various works of the Macarian corpus, and particularly to a hitherto unedited 'First Letter of Macarius to Monks'—the 'new Great Letter', as Jaeger calls it—of which a critical text appears at the end of the volume (pp. 233–301). All this is of the highest interest to patristic scholars, all the more because Jaeger does not confine himself to questions of the interrelationship of texts but discusses the theology of the treatise and its influence, exercised mainly through the writings of 'Macarius', on later Eastern Christian ascetic thought and practice. Perhaps the most interesting theological question which he raises is that of the apparent Semi-Pelagianism of St Gregory. There is a very great deal in Jaeger's long chapter (pp. 70–114) on *The Theology of the Treatise* with which we must agree. What he says about the influence of Greek philosophical thought, with its ideal of a salvation which man works out for himself through ἀσκησις and πόνος, on the ascetic theory and practice of Eastern Christendom, and especially of Origen and St Gregory can

hardly, I think, be denied; and it seems clear, too, that, as he states, Pelagianism and Semi-Pelagianism were ascetic movements deriving from this Eastern ascetic theory and practice. And the conclusions of his careful analysis of Gregory's doctrine of *συνεργία*, the co-operation of God's grace with man's effort, seem to me convincing: he shows, with an impressive marshalling of evidence, how Gregory, following Origen and to some extent in opposition to Clement, tries to combine the Greek philosophical insistence on human effort with the Christian doctrine of the necessity of God's grace for salvation. Whether Gregory's doctrine is, as Jaeger asserts, indistinguishable from that of the (not very much) later Semi-Pelagians is a question which must be left to specialists to discuss. Jaeger admits, however, that it would be anachronistic to call St Gregory a Semi-Pelagian; and I think we must add (i) that a great deal of the language which Gregory uses about the necessity of human effort in the spiritual life is the sort of language which preachers and spiritual directors use, and must use, to this day without necessarily any Semi-Pelagian implications; and (ii) that there are some questions in philosophy and theology which change the whole character of a discussion once they have been clearly asked. There seems no evidence that St Gregory ever asked himself the question which is basic to the dispute between St Augustine and Pelagius 'Is everything on the human side of the work of salvation, from and including the very first movement of the will to co-operate with grace, itself God's grace and supernatural gift—in Catholic doctrine a gift really given so that it really becomes *ours* as well as God's—or is it not?' We cannot of course be certain that St Gregory would have given the Catholic answer (we can be pretty certain that he would not have given the Protestant one). But at least we should be careful not to speak of him as if he, like Pelagius and the Semi-Pelagians, had asked himself or been asked the essential question.

A. H. ARMSTRONG.

1. *Les Paralipomenes* (Publications de l'Institut d'Etudes Orientales de la Bibliothèque Patriarcale d'Alexandrie No. 3). General Editor Dr Th. D. Moschonas. Alexandria, 1954, 144 pages, 6 plates.

This volume contains ten articles which, for technical reasons, were not able to be included in the Commemorative Tome of the Millenary of the Greek Orthodox Patriarchal Library of Alexandria.

These articles are in Greek, Italian and English, and deal with subjects ranging from the mythological Atlantis to a study on the numerical use of the Arabic alphabet.

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Anthimos, Metropolitan of Nubia : The laying-on of hands in the Early Church of Alexandria (Greek).

Burmester, O. H. E. KHS- : A Coptic Tradition concerning the Holy Myron (Chrism).

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Burmester, O. H. E. KHS- : The Cult and Mysteries of Mithra in the West.

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Koukoules, Phaëdon : At the Œcumenical Didascaleion (Greek).

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Tardo, Lorenzo : L'Antica Musica Bizantina (Italian).

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Psyllas, Iôannès N. : Atlantis (Greek).

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Michaelidès, Eugenios : The origin of the Arabic Alphabet, as a Numerical System (Greek).

Medicine

Eulogios, Metropolitan of Korytsa : 'The Dioscuridis' of Wellmann and the Lauriôdic Codex.

2. (a) *Ratbat al-Akathistos* (Order of the Acatistos Hymn). Publication of the Bonne Press, Haris, Lebanon, 1950. 56 pages.

This little manual contains the text of the Acatistos Hymn sung in honour of the Holy Virgin Mary on the Fridays of Lent, for use in Melchite churches. It is printed on good paper and has the rubrics in red. The text is Arabic with certain passages in Greek for which there is also a transliteration in Latin characters. For those who attend this Office in Melchite churches or who are interested in the Arabic version of the Greek liturgical books, this little publication will prove extremely useful.

(b) *Uffizio della Paracclisis in onore della S.S. Madre di Dio*, edited by Lorenzo Tadro. Grottaferrata, 1945. 2nd edition, 31 pages.

This little book contains the Office of the Paracclisis or Prayers in honour of the Holy Virgin Mary, which is performed daily during the Fast of the Falling Asleep of the Holy Mother of God, for use in the Greek Catholic churches of Italy and Sicily. The Greek text is accompanied by a translation in Italian on the opposite page. It is well produced, and forms a handy manual for this occasional Office.

O. H. E. KHS-BURMESTER.

The Parish in Action by Joost de Blank. Pp. 178 (Mowbray) 9s. 6d.

The parish church is responsible under God for all the people living in its area. In an age when the parish clergy knew all the people, and since nearly all were practising Christians, the work of the pastor was comparatively simple. His parish activity measured up to the needs of the district and of his people. He could visit them all regularly, and instruct them Sunday by Sunday in the parish church. To-day, an urban parish may contain upward of twenty thousand souls, the overwhelming majority of whom have no faith in Christianity, have ceased to practise any religion and are out of touch with the Church. Setting aside the invisible workings of divine grace, the impact of the parish on its people is feeble. The great problem facing the Church to-day is how to bring the faith of Christ to the millions who 'dwell in the shadow of death' in our large towns and cities. It is a contemporary problem and needs new, up-to-date methods to solve it. Movements, such as the Worker-priest and Y.C.W. are needed; the radio, television, press and cinema should be used. Above all the parish should be brought up to date, and all its apostolic potentialities utilized.

The bishop of Stepney has reviewed the responsibilities and opportunities of the parish, and he shows how his theories worked out in an actual experiment carried out in Harrow. Although he naturally writes for the Church of England, much of his book could be read with profit by all Christians.

P.W.

A History of the Œcumenical Movement, 1517-1948, edited by Ruth Rouse and Stephen Charles Neill. (S.P.C.K., 1954) 32s. 6d.

Many of us have thought of the œcumenical movement as something comparatively new, belonging only to the last

fifty years. This History will alter our perspective, making us realize how long and in how many different ways men have tried to put an end to Christian divisions. If we have tended to equate the World Council of Churches with the œcumenical movement, then we shall have to put that idea out of our minds; it is but the latest, though certainly the most impressive, product of a movement which has been going on in one form or another for centuries.

Both Foreword and Epilogue make it clear that those responsible for the book intended to enlarge our vision in this way, and the thoroughness and scope of the work match up to their intentions; it is an outstandingly important contribution to church history and a model reference book. There are fifteen contributors; a foreword, sixteen chapters, Bibliography, Glossary and Index; eight hundred and twenty-two pages in all. The first four chapters deal with disunity from Apostolic times to the beginning of the nineteenth century, and the remainder with what has happened since then, leading up to the formation of the World Council.

It is the chapters which deal with specific churches and with the relations between them, rather than those concerned with movements, plans and conferences, which make the most interesting reading and are the most successful in making clear the problems involved. For it is only when actual churches or individuals within those churches try to grapple with the difficulties created by disunity that the real obstacles appear. The conferences and committees, common platforms, resolutions and reports which fill a great many of these pages make heavy going, and although all this work has produced in the end the organizations which serve the œcumenical movement, its influence on the churches themselves is hitherto so slight that to read of it seems to lead one into an unreal world away from the main problems. Those problems are, however, made perfectly clear; the greatest of them is mentioned on p. 495: 'The final and terrible difficulty is that Churches cannot unite, unless they are willing to die'. Churches must change their minds; if unity is to come, they must revoke the decisions which led them into isolation.

Men have tried in three ways to bring about this change of mind. They have attempted to devise a form of Christianity which might prove acceptable to all dissentients as a basis of agreement; that was the way of Leibniz. It was, in fact, the way most commonly tried before 1800; in chapters 2 and 3 one can read, for instance, of the work of men like

Leibniz himself, Jablonski and John Dury. The weakness of this method is that the individual satisfies no one but himself, and even becomes so detached from orthodox Christianity that his thought on the subject serves neither his own nor any later generation. This is certainly the case with the three just mentioned; and yet they are labelled 'major œcumenical figures', while Bossuet is relegated to a secondary position. This is a poor reward, one feels, for all that Bossuet tried to do; from the beginning of his career the problem of the nature of the Church was in the forefront of his mind. In 1651 it was the subject of his minor thesis for the doctorate, which he wrote in a way nearer to the modern œcumenical style than to the controversial theology of his own day. If he was led to the conclusions which the Church of Rome still so obstinately maintains, it was not for lack of intelligence or learning. Bossuet's devotion to unity gives him the right to a better place in an œcumenical history, for three hundred years ago he began the work for separated Christians which the French school of theologians is carrying on with such distinction to-day.

The second way was that of the Oxford Movement—the attempt to alter the established ways of a denomination in favour of ways held to be nearer orthodoxy. This is the way which receives least attention in this History, perhaps because its limitations have now been discovered and because many of those who would regard themselves as the heirs of the Oxford Movement in the Church of England are out of sympathy with the main tendencies in modern œcumenical thought, as represented by the more enthusiastic supporters of the World Council. 'High Church' groups, like that of Dr Asmussen in Germany, the Taizé community in the French Reformed Church, and the Anglican Benedictines, Franciscans and other religious societies, receive very little attention. And yet, representing as they do a 'development of doctrine' within their churches, they have a very definite œcumenical rôle to play.

The third way, of which we hear most in this book, for it is the one which has come into prominence since the nineteenth century, is the way of association of members of separated denominations on the neutral ground which the World Council and the preparatory conferences have been able to provide. This association makes possible a cross-fertilization of doctrine and ways of worship which, it is hoped, will one day produce a breed of Christian with all

the virtues and none of the vices of the now separated strains. So far, this method has achieved little in the way of actual reunion, but it is the most promising of the three, for it means that the recognized authorities of each denomination have now become responsible for progress towards unity.

This passing of the movement out of the hands of a few enthusiasts into those of the church leaders themselves—a slow process of which all the details are recorded here—means also that it has reached its most critical stage. Are the churches now going to be content with organizing conferences, arranging limited intercommunion, reading one another's books and talking about fellowship enjoyed in spite of difficulties, or are they now going to be able to modify the theological principles which have kept them apart for so long? Responsibility for such surrender has at any rate been laid firmly on the right shoulders, and it has at least become possible that work for unity will soon yield some tangible fruits.

The chapter on 'The Roman Catholic Church and the Ecumenical Movement' is written with a real understanding of our position, though with greater emphasis on our attitude to the growth of the World Council of Churches than on the varied ecumenical work which is going on in Catholic circles. There are a number of agencies familiar to readers of the *E.C.Q.* which pass unnoticed in these pages. It seems clear that Catholic work for reunion is all too little known outside the Church, and that some way should be found of making information more easily available and of bringing Catholic and Protestant thought into closer contact, particularly in Britain and America.

A Catholic reader is bound to feel some impatience with the often repeated assumption—to be attributed more, it appears, to the editorial staff than to individual contributors—that the unity of the Church is an ideal attained perhaps in early days, but since then something which men have tried, without success so far, to make real. He will feel unhappy, too, about the statement on page 3: 'Experience comes before theology. The unity of the Christian fellowship was experienced in life before it was defined or explained,' for the Gospels make it quite clear that even the experience of association with our Lord did not make the Apostles understand what the New Israel was to be; He was continually having to define or explain, and when it came to that central confession of faith that He was the Christ, the truth was revealed to

Peter not by experience ('flesh and blood'), but by God Himself.

There is a remark on page 690, that Rome differs from all other churches in making the Papal Supremacy part of the deposit of faith, but it would be more significant to say that we insist, even more strongly than the Eastern Orthodox, that the Church itself is part of the deposit, and has the authority in every age to teach and define true doctrine and to do Christ's work in every country, never allowing men to reduce its claims to their own scale. Therein lies the crucial difference between Catholic doctrine and much of contemporary œcumenical thought.

The bibliography lists books published up to 1952; it omits one or two which I think might have been mentioned. In the seventeenth century there were *A Peaceful Method for the reuniting Protestants and Catholics in matters of faith* (Paris, 1671 and London, 1686), by Père L. Maimbourg, s.j., and *La Réunion du Christianisme ou la manière de rejoindre tous les Chrétiens en une seule confession de Foi* (Saumur, 1670), by the Protestant Isaac d'Huisseau, both of which might have interested Professor Norman Sykes for his chapter on the period; also Ph. Hildebrandt, *Die Kirchlichen Reunionsverhandlungen in der 2ten Hälfte des 17 Jahrhunderts* (Rome, 1922). Room might have been found for a section on books dealing with the doctrine of the Church; but then a complete history of developments in that field would make a most useful companion to this volume. We shall be fortunate if those who sponsored it think of trying their hand. J.M.R.

The Icon (Eikon) by Alexei A. Hackel; Herder Art Series. Pp. 6 (text) and 16 illustrations (Interbook Ltd, 12 Fitzroy Street, London, W.1) 15s.

Here we have a lovely book containing sixteen coloured plates of eikons true to the originals. The colour in eikon painting, we are told, is intended to bring out the depths of the meaning that the image should convey. This in itself justifies the publication. But in addition to this Mr Hackel has given an introduction and a description of the plates.

The object, he says, is to help introduce Christians of the West to Eastern Orthodox spirituality through the medium of the eikon. Thus his explanation both of the art of the eikon and of the plates themselves is not mainly historical but he would teach us their full spiritual significance, in this lies the uniqueness of the book.

The plan of the book is excellent, he has chosen his eikons so that they, both together and in order, depict the full mystery of our Redemption; commencing with the Holy Trinity, 'The Assembly of the Archangels', giving the redemptive acts in our Lord's human Life and then, showing the rôle of the Church by means of eikons of the Pantocrator, the Deesis, and a number of Saints.

We will give one or two examples of the author's descriptions; 'The invisible world cannot be understood, it can only be contemplated and experienced. And here the eikon may act as an intermediary, for it renders visible the invisible . . . The image is part of its prototype: and so reveals truths not of this world. The eikon is never merely a religious painting'. One could hardly better this description! Very often he quotes parts of the church services to describe an eikon, e.g. The Descent into Hell; 'O Life, Thou didst descend into the tomb, by Thy death, O Christ, Thou hast destroyed death; and from Thee flows life into the world'. 'When the gates of Hell were broken, and the hinges shattered; when the graves were emptied.'

He thus describes the eikon of the Ascension; 'The mystery of Easter is closely linked to that of the Ascension, the descent into hell with the ascension into heaven. The sky opens, and the glorified Christ, enthroned in light, is carried into heaven by his angels. Earth and heaven, the human and the divine, the natural and the supernatural mingle together.

The earth is sanctified by the presence of the most pure Virgin, in whom is the hope of mankind. And her stillness as she stands in front of the white-robed angels marks the presence of eternity in time. Her stillness is the more striking in contrast with the agitation of the Apostles on either side of her; of whom each in his own way expresses joy, faith, hope, and love.'

We strongly recommend this book.

DOM BEDE WINSLOW.

BOOKS RECEIVED

S.P.C.K.: *Saint Sergius in Paris*, D. A. Lowrie.

Herder Art Series: *The Icon*, A. A. Hackel.

Mowbray: *As in Adam*, A Religious of C.S.M.V.

Bedminster Vicarage, Bristol: *The Celebration of the Eucharist Facing the People*, Basil Minchin.

Sheed and Ward: *The Church of the Word Incarnate*. Mgr Charles Journet.

The Newman Press: *Rome and Russia*, Sister Mary Just.

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